

Dedicated
with love and regard
to
BARINDRAKUMAR GHOSH
The Brahma
of Indian Revolutionary Movement
by his humble Admirer,
The Author. .



PREFACE.

In these few pages I have tried to give short biographical sketches of some of the most prominent revolutionaries of Bengal. From this an idea may be gathered as to how the movement started and what channels it ran through in course of its development. This account is by no means complete, but I have tried only to select types and show the landmarks. If sufficient encouragement is received from the reading public, the doings of many other important revolutionaries will be published by me in the second part.

I must now acknowledge my great indebtedness to those gentlemen who have rendered me valuable help in compiling this work. Sjs. Barindrakumar Ghosh, Upendranath Banerji, Ullaskar Datta and Pulinbehari Das, with whom I have the good fortune of intimate acquaintance, have themselves very kindly supplied me with the facts of their lives. For the materials of Jatindranath Mukherji's personal and family life, I am indebted to his maternal uncle, Sj. Lalitkumar Chatterji, once arrested in connection with the "Howrah Conspiracy Case" of 1910, and now a Pleader of Krishnagar, Bengal. Sjs. Sris Chandra Ghosh and Rameswar De of Chandernagore have very kindly given me the materials for Rashbihari's early life. The notes on Sailendra's life-sketch

I have compiled from some of his relations to whom my thanks are due. The later history of Rashbihari and Jatindri's exploits, and of the literary activities of the Revolutionary party, the statements of Barindra, Upendra, Hrishikesh and others, the constitution of the Anusilan Samiti, the history of German plot in Bengal, have all been culled entirely, with a verbal change here and there, from the Sedition Committee's Report published by the Government to whom I offer my sincerest thanks.

My heartfelt thanks are also due to the following friends for the portraits — Lalitmohon De, photographer, Satishchandra Mitra, proprietor of the weekly "Basanti", Kiranchandra Mukherji of the Saraswati Library, and Dinakarprokash Joshi, Editor of the "Kurmachal Kesari" of Calcutta.

Once again I thank the above gentlemen but for whose help this publication could never see light. Some printing mistakes have crept in in my unavoidable absence, which I hope the reader will be able to rectify. It has not been possible now to give all the biographies I have collected and to have some doubtful points verified. This may be done if another edition has to be brought out.

Krishnagar, Bengal, }
February 1922.

Homanta K Sarkar

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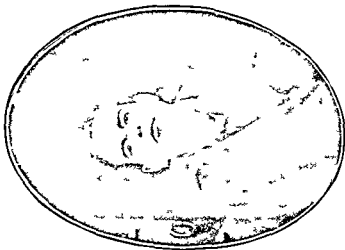
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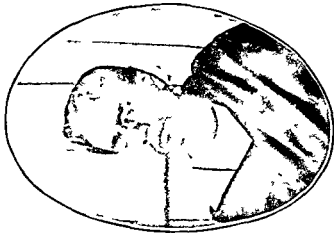
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BarIn

Revolutionaries of Bengal.

BARINDRAKUMAR GHOSH.

Barindrakumar Ghosh was born at Croydon near London in the year 1880. While six months old he was brought out to India by his parents.

His father Dr. K. D. Ghosh, Civil Surgeon of Mulna, Bengal, was a man of extremely charitable disposition and a great admirer and imitator of English life and manners. He himself had been to England to pass the medical examination and another time went with his wife and daughter there to have his three sons educated in some English schools. Barindra was born on this occasion.

The eldest brother Bipinbihari is now in the Bihar State Service. The next one Monmohan who graduated from Oxford, a poet of no mean merit, is serving as a professor of English in the Presidency College, Calcutta. Arabinda had been educated entirely in England, had taken a first class in the Cambridge University Classical Tripos; and desiring for the Indian Civil Service had been rejected at the final examination for inability to ride. Then he came out to Baroda and acted as the Gaekwar's Private Secretary and for many years the Vice-President of his College. His subsequent career as Principal of the Calcutta National College and Editor of the Sandemataram is too well-known to need elaborate

mention. Barindra's elder sister Miss Sarojini Ghosh is living at present in Calcutta. After Arabinda's birth Barindra's mother ran mad and this unhappy event destroyed the happiness of the family.

Up to the sixth year of his life Barindra was with his mother and sister at Rohini near Deoghur. At the age of 7 he was taken away and lived mostly at Calcutta and some time at Khulna. Barindra was brought up in the European way by his father who died in 1892. After this he was taken to Deoghur again to have his education at the local school.

While at school he published a manuscript magazine, organised a poor fund and a debating club, learnt lathi-play, held mock-fights in the nearing hills imitating the Maoli soldiers of Shivaji and buried himself amidst the beauties of nature around. From two of his teachers he got literary inspiration and one of these was Sakham Ganesh Deuskar, subsequently famous as the author of *Deshar Katha*. His maternal grand-father Rajnarain Basu exerted a great influence in the moulding of his character. Spirit of independence and hatred of the English, Barindra inherited from this remarkable man.

Barindra used to write love poems from the age of 13 and imitate Rabindranath in his dress and style. For two years he was at college at Dacca and Patna, composing verses, falling in love off and on, writing stories for the Kuntaline prize and so forth. His brothers were not for college education. So Barindra was encouraged. His dream at school was to write a

life of Shrivast in verse, but at College he changed his ideal and thought of becoming a gentleman farmer and write poems on feminine charms, buried in the beauties of nature. His second brother promised him some money for starting a farm, but Barindra never getting it left home in disgust without telling anybody. He came to Calcutta to have the house of a female relation sold and start a farm by the money received. It took some months for the house to sell and Barindra spent his days in a mess some times without food, vagabondising and hunting for a job which no one offered him.

After selling the house, he got Rs 900/ and started a stationery shop and a tea stall at Patna. The business naturally failed and he went back to Ariabinda at Baroda, in spite of his former resolve not to take any help from his brothers. There he engaged himself in writing poems and novels, playing on the Esraj, hunting birds and doing kitchen gardening which was his hobby.

At this time he happened to pick up the acquaintance of two or three persons who were members of a secret society the aim of which was to bring back the Hindu sovereignty after the ideal of Rama's kingdom. After a few months he was initiated, he came to know that a Chief of Rajwada was the leader who would be the head of the Hindu Empire to be established,

The centre of the society was at Poona or some where else. He was initiated with the Gita in one hand and sword in another, pledged to serve his

country till his death, and was sent to Bengal with a letter of introduction to a Bengali who had already received initiation. This gentleman subsequently became a Sannyasi.

The society in Bengal had a good number of members from the Bar and the monthly subscriptions amounted to Rs 250/. Barindra thought the elites of Bengal were ready, only the students and the Zemindars were to be captured and they could do without the masses. Two other secret societies had been organised before this—one under the inspiration of Rignyān Basu, and another under that of Count Okakura of Japan who came to visit Calcutta about a couple of years before Barindra's visit.

The President of the secret society to which Barindra belonged was a barrister who himself knew little. There were various departments of this organisation such as—Recruiting, Intelligence, Finance, Arms, Publicity, etc. Riding, boxing, cycling, swimming etc were practised and an English lady was one of their patrons. After some time there was a split in the organisation but it survived.

Barindra came to Calcutta in the year 1902. He devoted himself to working among the English educated élite. He found among these a few associations or unions for the promotion of physical culture. He succeeded in adding others and in spreading revolutionary ideas to a certain extent. But he was on the whole, disappointed with the response.

convinced that a purely political propaganda would not serve his purpose

He heard of a "*siddha yogi*" while at Baroda—living at Chandot on the banks of the Nerbudā. With Upendranath Banerji he set about on the look out for a *sadhu*. Upendra went away disappointed. But Barindra found a spiritual Guru in Vishnu-bhaskar Lele—a southern Brahmin living at Jai pur—meeting him by chance at Chandot. On his advice Barindra received *mantra* from Sakharia Swami of Chandot, who fought against the British in his youth in the army of the Rani of Jhansi.

After this he started for Calcutta and practised *dhyān* and manufactured bombs at the same time in the Manicktala Garden. Arabinda heard of Lele and wanted to meet him. The Surat Congress afforded an opportunity. With the object of establishing interconnection between the various revolutionary societies of India, Barindra went to Surat where he found out some of the leaders, but was absolutely disappointed and saw Bengal would have to work alone. After the stormy congress, Arabinda met Lele and had his initiation which brought out the unexpected desired result in three days.

In February 1908 a centre was established at Deoghur. Lele came to Calcutta and predicted the sure advent of Indian emancipation even without bloodshed in the near future. He wanted to draw Barindra away to the path of spiritual salvation but Barindra refused. Lele warned them against a

great danger worse than death which would soon overtake them. After this they were all arrested with arms and ammunitions at Manicktala garden, though they got scent beforehand.

By giving public notice in the *Jugantar*, one batch went away to put into practice what they had preached for a year and a half. A few months before the arrest, the secret police hired a house near the garden, and watched and followed this careless band buried blind in their idealism. Want of money and heartless demands of the donors made the workers desperate and still more careless. Boys vied with one another in facing death. Prafulla Chakravarty, perhaps the best of the whole lot, died suddenly of a bomb explosion at Deoghur. Khudiram Basu and Prafulla Chaki were sent with bombs to Muzaffarpur in Bihar to kill Mr. Kingsford who as Chief Presidency Magistrate, Calcutta, had tried cases against the *Jugantar*, *Bande Mataram*, *Sandhya*, and *Nabasakti* newspapers and had convicted persons connected with these papers. In connection with an incident arising out of these cases a bhadralok youth named Shushil Kumar Sen was sentenced to a whipping of 15 stripes by him. The bomb missed Kingsford and killed two ladies. Profulla shot himself dead when going to be arrested by a C.I.D. officer and Khudiram was sentenced to be hanged. That the revolutionaries were a bit careful at the beginning must be admitted. They were pledged not to take part in any public meetings lest they might be recognised. They believed in sword alone

and the Swadeshi movement was tauntingly given the name of the Bania Movement. Even they used to wear foreign clothes to avoid police surveillance. But this cautiousness gradually loosened and it was no wonder that they were arrested, but that they were not arrested so long.

The arrest took place on the 2nd of May, 1908. They were removed from the lock-up to the Alipur Jail on the 4th of May. The case known as the Alipur Conspiracy Case began before Mr. Birley, the Additional Magistrate. The first batch of accused persons were under trial in the Sessions Court from the 14th of October 1908 to the 4th of March 1909. Their appeals were disposed of by the High Court some months afterwards. The number of persons committed by the Magistrate to the Sessions Court was 38 in all. While the accused were under trial in the Sessions Court, one of them Naren Goswami who had turned approver was murdered by two of the others—Satyen Bose and Kanai Dutt. They were separately convicted and hanged.

The accused belonged to various castes and came from different parts of the province. Some were students and others were young men who had entered life. There were teachers as well. According to the Chief Justice the accused were for the most part men of education, of strong religious convictions. "It was the first criminal conspiracy of any magnitude that the revolutionary party started. The

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conspirators showed enterprise, daring and determination”

Let us quote here at length the Sedition Committee's Report for the history and ideal of Barindra's movement

‘The Bengal partition had just started when Barindra returned to Calcutta in 1904 to reopen his campaign. He was young himself and he addressed his appeal mainly to uncritical and emotional youths already stirred to unwonted depths and enlisted in a popular political cause’ The victory of the Japanese over the great Russian power awakening the Asiatics to a sense of self trust gave an incentive. The Hindu Mahomedan embroglio in the East Bengal rousing a spirit of vengeance in the Bengali Hindus also supplied enthusiasm

The motives and methods of Barindra were described by himself in a statement before the Magistrate on the 22nd of May, 1908. He said— ‘At Baroda I devoted myself to the study of history and political literature. After being there a year, I came back to Bengal with the idea of preaching the cause of independence as a political missionary. I moved from district to district, and started gymnasia. There youngmen were brought together to learn physical exercises and study politics. I went on preaching the cause of independence for nearly two years. By that time I had been through almost all the districts of Bengal. I got tired of it, and went back to Baroda and studied for a year. I then returned to Bengal, convinced that a purely

political propaganda would not do for the country and people must be trained up spiritually to face dangers.

I had an idea of starting a religious institution. By that time the Swadeshi and boycott agitation had begun. I thought of taking men under my own instruction to teach them, and so I began to collect this band which have been arrested. With my friend Abinash Bhattacharji and Bhupendranath Datta I started the Jugantar newspaper. We managed it for nearly one and a half years and then gave it over to the present managers. After I gave it up I took again to the recruiting. I collected together 14 or 15 youngmen from about the beginning of 1907 till now (1908).

I educated the boys in religious books and politics. We were always thinking of a far-off revolution and wished to be ready for it, so we were collecting weapons in small quantities. Altogether I have collected 11 revolvers, 4 rifles and 1 gun. Among other youngmen who came to be admitted to our circle was Ullaskar Dutta. He said that as he wanted to come among us and be useful, he had learnt the preparation of explosives. He had a small laboratory in his house without his father's knowledge and he experimented there. I never saw it. He told me of it. With his help we began preparing explosives in small quantities in the garden-house at 32, Muraripukur Road. In the meantime another friend of ours, Hemchandra Das, after, I think, selling part of his property, went to Paris to

learn mechanics, and if possible, explosives. When he came back he joined Ullaskar Dutta, in preparing explosives and bombs. We never believed that political murder will bring independence. We did it because we believed the people wanted it." (Vide Sedition Committee's Report.)

Among the arrested were :—

- (1) Ullaskar Dutta, aged 22 years, Baidya, Resident of Sibpur, Howrah, Self-taught in bomb making.
- (2) Bibhutibhusan Sarkar, aged 20 years, Kayastha, Student, Native of Santipur, Nadia.
- (3) Hrishikesh Kanjilal, aged 26 years. Teacher, Chatra School, District Hoogly. Read up to B.A., took to teaching with the object of "poisoning" the minds of students.
- (4) Sudhirkumar Sarkar, native of Faridpur, resident of Khulna ; Brahmin. Read up to the 2nd class of an Entrance School. Left school about two years before. Helped in the publication of Jugantar.
- (5) Narendranath Bakshi, aged 18 years ; Brahmin, Student. District Rajsahi.
- (6) Birendranath Ghosh, aged 17½ years ; Kayastha, District Jessore. Son of a small land-holder. Student.

While in the jail as an undertrial prisoner Barindra planned an outbreak and had arms smuggled in for the purpose. But Kanai, Satyen and three others killed Naren Gosain, the approver, with the very revolvers smuggled in by Barindra in the jail, without letting Barindra know anything lest he

prevents them for fear of frustration of his plans of jail out-break.

Barindra and Ullaskar were sentenced to death which was however commuted to transportation for life after appeal to the High Court. Upendra was also given transportation for life with others receiving various terms of imprisonment.

The rest of the story has been told in Barindra's book "The Story of my Exile" and a similar book by Upendra, written in a most charming manner.

After 12 years of exile they were released by the Government and came back to Calcutta in February, 1920. They were put in charge of the Narayana—a monthly edited by S. Chittaranjan Das. Barindra established a publishing firm—The Arya Publishing House to preach the ideas of the Arabinda School. The weekly Bijali was also started under the joint editorship of Barindra, Upendra and the present writer. Barindra published one novel and another book of spiritual love poems and wrote the story of his exile. He has now retired to Pondicherry and living with his brother Arabinda in *sadhana*. From there he has still been contributing to the columns of the Bijali the romantic story of his life and work. He is now about 43 and looks quite young. May he live long to see the fruits of the trees he planted !

UPENDRANATH BANERJI

Upendranath Banerji was born on the 6th of June, 1879, at Chandernagore, a French possession in the District of Hoogly.

His father Ramanath Banerji was a Vaishnava, while his mother belonged to the Shakta sect. His grandmother had fits of insanity.

At the age of five Upendra went to Goyla Mosai's Pathsala (the teacher being a milkman by caste) where he remained for about two years. Then he was taken to the Banga Vidyalaya, Chandernagore, where he studied up to his tenth year. Here an amusing little incident took place. Upendra sat for the Upper Primary Examination but he fled away from the examination hall, bought plums worth half an anna and was busy enjoying them. He was a 'naughty' boy who composed verses in the name of a teacher, and broke the head of a boy throwing the school gong when attacked from behind. He used to get thrashing regularly from his teachers for quarrelling and beating.

Upendra entered the Dupleix College in his tenth year. For three years he was very negligent of his studies and was often punished standing on the bench. From the fourth year, however, he became a "good" boy and regularly stood first till the Entrance Examination, which he passed in the first division in 1896, securing a gold medal in the French language. He passed the First Arts Examination of the Dupleix College in 1898, stand-

ing first in the Burdwan Division, which entitled him to a scholarship of Rs. 20. This scholarship was not awarded because of his belonging to a French possession.

He, then, studied in the Calcutta Medical College from 1898-1903 living in a mess with his father and brother in Calcutta. Bad food and hard labour compelled him to give up his studies for brain troubles and he took rest at home for full one year.

Then he joined the Duff College, Calcutta, supporting himself entirely by giving private tuition in French. He was there for two years, and got a Bible scholarship. Nevertheless he began to preach against the Christian missionaries in the Hedua—the tank garden near his College. At this time he got under Swami Vivekanand's influence through his books. He met him once and fled to his Mayavati Asram in the Himalayas as a Sannyasi and remained there for about four months when at the importunities of his brother-in-law and father who came to take him back, he returned home.

Upendra took to the life of a teacher at Garbati High School, Chandernagore, and began to instil fire into the minds of his students. After about nine months, one fine morning he bolted away once more, after crossing the river, with Pandit Hrishikesh Kanjilal who accompanied him since then throughout his life. They travelled through several distant places—Patna, Benares, Barielly and thence to Mayavati again where they stayed for about a year, spending time in reading the *shastras*. At

last he refused to accept the Mayavada and thinking the doctrine of *Karma* to be the highest, left Mayavati and travelled extensively through the Panjab as a Sannyasi living on voluntary alms. A severe attack of dysentery shattered his health.

In the year 1905, a few months before the Swadeshi movement, he came back and again became a teacher in the Garoti Institution and Bhadreswar High School where he used to systematically "inject" the boys with germs of "sedition".

In 1906 he resigned his teachership and joined the *Bande Mataram* newspaper of Arabind to have a share of glory in the liberation of India. Then he became the editor of the *Jugantar*, which grew into the most powerful exponent of the revolutionary creed under his charge.

In the month of May 1908 he was arrested with Barindra and others in the Muraripukur Garden at Manicktala, Calcutta. Their defence by Mr C R Das, Barrister, showed a most splendid specimen of forensic art. But Upen got transportation for life.

In a statement before the Magistrate Upendra said, "As I thought that some people of India would not be made to do any work except through religion, I wanted the help of some sadhus (religious ascetics). Failing *sadhus* I fell back upon school boys and collected them to give them religious moral and political education. Since then I have been mainly engaged in teaching boys about the state of our country and the need of independence, and the only

way left us, is to fight for independence and to start secret societies in different parts of the country to propagate ideas and collect arms and rise in rebellion when the time shall be ripe. I knew that Barindia Ullaskar and Hem were engaged in manufacturing bombs with a view to do away with the lives of those Government officials who by repressive measures hampered our work, viz, the Lieutenant Governor and Mr Kingsford.

Hrishikesh Kanjilal said on the 11th of May, 1908, I am a teacher by occupation. At Chander nagore Upen showed me a few copies of the Jugantar and I studied them. I decided that we must secure the political independence of our country, and I asked Upen to enquire in the Jugantar office whether there was really such organisation to free our country from the foreign yoke, in Calcutta. Next day I went to Chatra and I resolved to get a post in the Education Department so that I might preach to young boys the idea that it was by hypocrisy and everlasting duplicity the English had conquered our country, and I got a post in the Bhadreswar High English School. Another associate said 'When the Government at the time of partition refused to listen to our petition we tried to have Swaraj (Self government). My heart was touched by reading the Jugantar newspaper.' (Vide Sedition Committee's Report)

Upendra came back after twelve years of exile in February 1920. He joined the editorial staff of the Narayana and the Bijali and wrote some very nice

books on philosophical and political subjects. The best of his productions undoubtedly is his story of exile unsurpassed in style and manner by any other book in Bengali. Upendra is now on the editorial staff of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, Calcutta and editing his own paper *Atmasakti*—a vernacular weekly of advanced political ideas.

He was married in the year 1897 and his eldest son Nripendra was born in 1906. His wife is an ideal Hindu lady devoutly attached to her husband. A second son has been born to Upendra only recently.

As Upendra was the chief literary exponent of Revolutionists, it would not be quite out of place here to mention the details of some of the books, pamphlets and newspapers that moulded their ideas—(Vide Sedition Committee's Report.)

"In 1905 was published the pamphlet *Bhawan Manair* which set out the aims and objects of the revolutionaries. It was remarkable in more ways than one and cleverly associated the religious and political aspects of the question from the point of view of so-called Indian Nationalism. We find the glorification of Kali under the names *Sakti* and *Bhawan* (two of her numerous names) and the preaching of the gospel of force and strength as the necessary condition of political freedom. The success of Japan is attributed to the strength drawn from religion, and the necessity for Indians to worship *Sakti* (or *Bhawan* manifested as the Mother of Strength) is insisted upon if success is desired. The *Atmasakti* advocated the building of a temple

to Bhawani in a spot far from the contamination of modern cities and as yet little trodden by man, in a high and pure air steeped in calm and energy." A new order of political devotees was to be instituted, but it was optional for the members to become Sanyasis (ascetics). Most of them were to be Brahmacharis (or unmarried people) who would return to the Grihastha Asram when the allotted work was finished. What the allotted work was, though not specified, is clear. It was the liberation of India from the foreign yoke. The contamination of the religious, political and social views is clearly brought out in the rules already mentioned by which the new order was to be governed. Generally speaking, a new organisation of political Sanyasis was to be started, who were to prepare the way for revolutionary work. It is significant that at this stage there is no reference to violence or crime.

The central idea as to a given religious order is taken from the well-known novel *Ananda Math* of Bankim Chandra. It is an historical novel having for its setting the Sanyasi rebellion in 1774, when armed bands of Sanyasis came into conflict with the East India Company and were suppressed after a temporary career of success.

The revolutionary societies in Bengal infected the principles and rules advocated in the Bhawani Mandir with the Russian ideas of revolutionary violence. While a great deal is said in the Bhawani Mandir about the religious aspect, the Russian rules are matter of fact. The Samitis and Associations

formed later than 1908 gradually dropped the religious ideas underlying the Bhawanî Mândir pamphlet (with the exception of the formalities of oath and vows) and developed the terroristic side with its necessary accompaniments of dacoity and murder.

The logical development of the movement required that a revolutionary should receive military training and the *Vartaman Rananiti* (or the Modern Art of War) was published in October 1907 by Abinâs Chandra Bhattachâryya who was a member of the Manikthalî party, and was convicted and sentenced to 7 years rigorous imprisonment in the Alipore Bomb Case. The book extols war as necessary for the building up Indian nationality, and after the usual diatribe against the English who are alleged to have disarmed Indians in order to oppress them with greater facility, proceeds to discuss various military details. Connected with this work is the manual for making bombs, which was studied by revolutionaries. Copies were found in Bengal (at the search in Manikthalî garden Calcutta) in the Bombay Presidency (at the search of Savarkar's house in Nasik) and in Bhu Paramanand's house at Lahore.

An interesting collection of books was seized at various searches, and the list given in the Catalogue of the Criminal Museum at Calcutta affords interesting reading. Amongst the books are Nitro Explosives by Sanford, the Swordsman by Alfred Hutton, a Hand book of Modern Explosives by Fussler, Modern Weapons and Modern War by J

S. Bloch, Mukti Kon Pathe, Field Exercises, Rifle Exercises, Manual of Military Engineering, Infantry Training, Cavalry Drill, Machine-Gun Training, Quick Training for War, and other Military works.

The Jugantar (New Era) began publication in 1906, and in the person of its printer or publisher was successfully prosecuted five times between June 1907 and June 1908. But the imprisonment of the individual produced no effect. Each time a new printer or publisher was found. There was no provision for forfeiture of the press and the paper went on as before. Its sale was so great, that, as the Chief Justice pointed out, the crowds seeking to purchase it formed an obstruction in the street. Even young boys in very remote parts of the country were "corrupted" by the Yugantar newspaper and its teachings. The journal attained a circulation of 7,000 in 1904, and rapidly reached a still wider range before it ceased to appear in 1908 in consequence of the newly passed Newspapers Act. The issue of the 26th August, 1907, appears with the following letter from a supposed mad yogi (devotee)—"Dear Editor,—I hear that copies of your paper are being sold by thousands in the bazar. If at least fifteen thousand copies are distributed in the country, nearly sixty thousand people read them. I cannot withhold the temptation of telling a certain thing to these sixty thousand people and am therefore taking up my pen untimely.....I am mad and crack-brained and a sensation-monger. The cup of my delight becomes full when I see unrest

descending in all directions like deaf dumbness I cannot rest any longer. News of loot is reaching me from all quarters and I am dreaming as if the future guerilla bands were plooting money and as if the future war had commenced in the shape of petty dacoities (gang robberies). O Plunder, I worship you to-day, be our help mate.'

The Sandhya was another most powerful and popular organ of the party written in a unique style much liked by the masse. It proclaimed abroad "We want complete independence. The country cannot prosper so long as the veriest shred of the feringhis supremacy over it is left. Swadeshi, boycott, all are meaningless to us, if they are not the means of retrieving our whole and complete independence. Rights granted by the feringhies as favour, we shall spit at and reject, and we shall work out our own salvation."

Thousands of leaflets secretly printed such as the Jugantar and the Swadhin Bharat (the Independent India) leaflets continued to issue intermittently until recently.

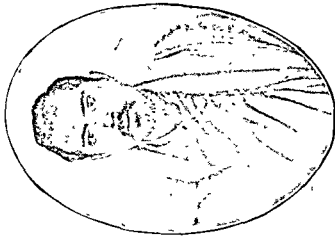
The book *Mul ti Kon Pathe* (What is the path of Salvation?) is a reprint of selected articles from *Jugantar*. It indicates in frank terms the main features of the campaign which were actually carried out. At an early stage the book denounces the 'simulness and lowness' of the ideas of the National Congress. It indicates the correct attitude for

undertakings regarding different contemporary events which the present leaders of the country wish us to join. But it should always be a first consideration that in the matter of those undertakings alone which extend over the whole country and which raise a desire for liberty, the bands are to join wholeheartedly and to try to be in the foremost ranks..... In the present circumstances of our country there is no lack of undertakings and agitations regarding it; and by the grace of God, the Bengalis are everywhere being initiated by these efforts into a love of the country and a determination to obtain liberty. Therefore let these be by no means disregarded. But if these agitations be joined in without the ideal of freedom being cherished in the heart, real strength and training will never be acquired from them. Therefore as the members of the band will, on the one hand, stake their lives on increasing the scope of the bands, so on the other they should remain persevering and active in keeping the country excited by these undertakings and agitations."

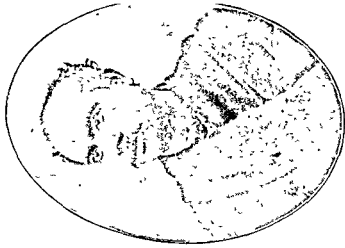
The book further points out that not much muscle was required to shoot Europeans, that arms could be procured by grim determination and that weapons could be prepared silently in some secret place. Indians could be sent to some foreign countries to learn the art of making weapons. The assistance of Indian soldiers must be obtained. They must be made to understand the misery and wretchedness of the country. The heroism of Shivaji must be remembered. As long as revolutionary work remained in

its infancy, expenses could be met by subscriptions, But as work advanced, money must be exacted from society by the application of force. If the revolution is being brought about for the welfare of society, then it is perfectly just to collect money from society for the purpose. It is admitted that theft and dacoity are crimes because they violate the principle of the good of society. But the political dacoit is aiming at the good of society, "so no sin but rather virtue attaches to the destruction of this small good for the sake of some higher good. Therefore if the revolutionaries extort money from the miserly or the luxurious members of society, by the application of force, their conduct is perfectly just.'

Mukti Kon Pathe further exhorts its readers to obtain the "help of the native soldiers...Although these soldiers for the sake of their stomach accept service in the Government of the ruling power, still they are nothing but men made of flesh and blood. They too know (how) to think ; when therefore the revolutionaries explain to them the woes and miseries of the country, they, in proper time, will swell the ranks of the revolutionaries with arms and weapons given them by the ruling power.....Because it is possible to persuade the soldiers in this way, the modern English Raj of India does not allow the cunning Bengalis to enter into the ranks of the armyAid in the shape of arms may be secretly obtained by securing the help of the foreign ruling powers."



Ullaskar



Pulin

ULLASKAR DUTTA.

It was at the time when I was a student of the City College, Calcutta, that I happened to get a taste of politics for the first time in my life. I remember clearly the day when I went to hear a lecture delivered by Sj. Bipin Ch. Pal at the Star-Theatre Hall, and how he dwelt upon the subject of our National mendicancy, and impressed the audience with his vivid imagination and logical reasoning. Hitherto our Congresses and Conferences had spent over twenty to twenty-five years of our valuable time in fruitless attempts at gaining concessions from the Government by sending petitions and humiliating appeals. It was he who exhorted us to discard the idea as futile, and take to self-help and self-assertion.. "We seem to want" he said —"to gain our ends by disturbing John Bull in his sweet forgetfulness of slumber, nurtured and embellished by the folds of his cosy blankets by raising our moaning cries of woe. But it was such a thing that was never to be. Though perhaps it was the first time that I went to hear a political lecture yet the idea caught my fancy, and I do not seem to forget the incident even after the lapse of so many years. Previous to this I was never in the habit of attending lectures either social or political and even if I attended I could scarcely be expected to understand what they meant. Now that I heard one of Sj. Pal's lectures and got impressed with

something that was not in me before I began to take an interest in the matter and went to hear other lectures as well

The next incident that I should like to make mention of here is one of Rabi Babu's lectures. It was a paper read by Sri Rabindra Nath Tagore at the Minerva Theatre Hall on "Swadeshi Samrajy". Unfortunately for me I could not get a chance of attending the meeting as there arose a scuffle between myself and some of the men guarding the entry gate

The Police intervened and began to use their fists freely at those that were standing near the gate, eager to enter if they could get a chance. Enraged by the treatment they received at the hands of the Police people began to throw brickbats at them. The mounted Police began to run their horses in the very thick of the crowds using their horsewhips right and left and the thronging crowds began to disperse helter skelter in every direction. For about ten or fifteen minutes it was confusion and disorder all around. I being the principal in the affray was arrested and sent to the nearest Police Station with an escort of about half a dozen police men. On my way to the Police Station as we began to near the thana the police men finding me quite an unclaimed property as it were chose to satiate their pique by making the best use of the short interval of time they had me at their disposal before my being handed over to their superiors using their batons and fists as roughly and as rudely

as they could from behind. As soon as I was presented before the Inspector in charge of the station those very policemen that beat me most mercilessly on the way came to file charges against me alleging that I had assaulted them with my boots and fists several of them actually showing to the Inspector spots in their person where I had given them blows and kicks. It all looked such a strange concoction that I appeared quite dumbfounded before the Inspector. However, the Inspector asked me if I could identify any of the men standing before me as having handled me roughly or as having inflicted physical injuries on me. I did not know what to say, the men whoever assaulted me did so only from behind, and so gave me little or no opportunity at all for identifying their faces. As a result I had no other course left me but to answer the Inspector in the negative. In the meantime S. J. Pal and Dr. D. N. Maitra arrived at the Police Station, having heard the news of my arrest. Fortunately, however, the Inspector happened to be in acquaintance of theirs and felt rather at ease when he saw those gentlemen come to my rescue. He was sorry, he said, for what had happened, but the case had been entered in the diary, so it could not be helped that I should go to the police court once next day. He assured the gentlemen that they should have no reason to be anxious about me, that he himself would do the needful when the case came up for hearing. For the present I was given bail, so that I might not have

to rot the whole night in the lock up Dr Maitra stood bail for me and we all went out together I was at the time living with my father who was professor of Agriculture in the Civil Engineering College, Sibpur and had his quarters there. Instead of going to Sibpur that very night I preferred to stop with Dr Sundari Mohon Das who was a particular friend of my father There when I undressed myself for the night it was found that the blows I had received at my back had left marks, that appeared as dark and swollen spots in several places However, it being a doctor's house I had no difficulty in finding prompt medical aid Medicine was readily applied to the wounds so that I felt little or no pain at all before they got healed up Next day also I had had not much trouble in the Police Court The trying Magistrate agreed to hush up the case without much questioning Since then my notions as to the ways of our Police and as a matter of consequence, those of the Government at their back, began to take a clear and distinct shape It was at this time that the Bengal Partition came about, and there arose the tremendous popular agitation throughout the length and breadth of the whole of Bengal, leading subsequently to the annulment of the Partition Hitherto I was supposed only to be a very dull specimen of humanity, with scarcely any ideas as to what should be my future career It was this popular movement that gave birth to the 'Swadeshi', sent a thrill through every pulsating heart in Bengal and opened out all the

secret channels of life that lay hidden under cover of the sordid selfish and ne'er do weal sort. It was this very wave of enthusiasm surging and sweeping through Bengal that gave us the fillip and we felt as though we could do something as the poet sang

"Lives of great men all remind us,
We can make our lives sublime,
And departing leave behind us,
Foot prints in the sands of time"

During the early stages of the movement an incident occurred, that played a very important part in bringing about a change in the course of my studies at the time. After having got plucked once I was preparing for the First Arts examination in the Presidency College for a second time. I was about four or five months in the College when a curious incident happened. Mr Russel one of our Professors, gave a very strong report against the Calcutta student community vilifying them in the most objectionable language possible and depicting their morals as the most degrading on the face of the earth. Huge condemnation meetings began to be held at different places passing votes of censure on the said professor, England returned gentlemen began to divulge stories that they heard regarding their betters over there while prosecuting their studies there and all these went to show that our Calcutta students were in no way less moral when compared with the students of other countries. The whole Calcutta student community began to

fret and fume with rage against the Professor, and it turned out so that, I could not hold myself quiet any longer and did something for which I had to leave College for good. The 'SWADESHI' was at the time running in full swing and at top speed. I took it into my head to go over to Bombay and learn the Textile industry. Accordingly I went and took admission in the Victoria Technical Institute there. Before the advent of the 'SWADESHI' I could scarcely be said to have found any taste in studies. It was the 'SWADESHI MOVEMENT' to which I must hold myself for ever indebted for all the good things of life that fell on me even as I was a stupid and good for nothing idler. It was this 'SWADESHI MOVEMENT' that opened out all my thought channels as it were, and I began to think seriously of life. I began to read books such as Carlyle's 'Heroes and Hero-worship', Joseph Mazzini's articles on "Faith and Future" and Bankim Chandra's 'Anusheelini' and 'Dharma Tattwa', books that by chance happened to be with me then and found for the first time so to say, and to my astonishment rather, that there could be something so enjoyable, so interesting and something so very maddening and rapturous at times even in such a thing as study. After having spent a few months in Bombay I came home once during vacation time, and found that the Bengal Provincial Conference was going to be held that year at Barisal. I chose at once to go there. It was that very Conference in

which the local police and the Magistrate made themselves conspicuous by their rowdyism and lawlessness in breaking up the processions most rudely with their lathies and arresting Sir Surendra Nath even though it be for so short a time. The cruel and merciless assault that they made on the person of Chitta Ranjan Guha Thakurti I saw with mine own eyes and to add to this I myself did not escape the favour of a clout from one of their regulation lathies. All these ill treatments received at the hands of those in power, servants in name but masters in deed began to tell on our minds with such ready effect, that it became impossible for us to remain indifferent any more. A determined stand had to be made somehow and we began seriously to think what could be the method we were to follow? The well known vernacular weekly 'JUGANTAR', now extinct, was started at about this time and turned out to be the boldest, the most intelligent and the most daring exponent of the popular cause, for which endeavour, quite a number of its editors and printers beginning with Bhupendra Nath Dutta, brother to the late Swami Vivekananda, had to go to jail. In those days of the infant "SWADESHI" jail going for the vindication of the rights of man was a thing almost unknown in our National History and we must not forget to pay our respects to the *First Martyrs* that ventured to break open the first barrier that stood between the people and its self-realisation. It was this enthusiastic 'Fire brand' 'JUGANTAR' that appeared as God send for young

state of mind for sometime, but Barindra, from my next cell, began to argue with me by means of ticks and thumps on the wall, saying that it would not be right on my part not to appeal, while all the others did. It was not only that he was mostly to be held responsible for whatever had transpired and it would be folly on my part if I were to place even one more straw over and above what was already lying on his back so that it came almost to the breaking point. Was it not my duty to sign the appeal form, ignoring the moral objection that lay behind it, considering the relief, he would feel when there was one less out of the total? Moreover my parents and people of home began to try all possible means in order to persuade me to make my appeal. All those persuasions from different quarters, began to tell on me and by and by seemed to change my conviction in their favour. By and by I seemed to doubt my position and asked myself whether it would be right on my part not to appeal, ignoring all the earnest entreaties from my very nearest and dearest people that loved me so much and for whom I had my very best regards. Even if I laid the most stress on the moral bearing of the question and accepted the gallows would people understand me according to my lights? I doubted, society as it was then constituted, scarcely seemed to possess elements such as would have thought with me as I thought. If so what possible gain could have been the outcome of such an effort? I desired and asked the European War-

der to inform the Jail authorities that I wanted to appeal. In the meantime S_y Sarat Ch Sen, Pleader, Calcutta High Court, and my uncle Dr Mohendra Ch Nandy appeared one morning before my cell, produced an appeal form and wanted me to sign. They gave me pen and ink and I signed. The next day or the day after, I could not be quite definite, the very same persons came to my cell once again and produced the very same kind of an appeal form, and wanted me to sign also. "What do you mean", I said, "did I not sign the form the other day? Why do you want me to sign it again?" They seemed not to understand my meaning at all, and for a time looked quite blank at me. "To whom did you sign the appeal form?" They asked, "To you", I said "who else?" It all looked such a strange mystery! They never came to me with any appeal form before, they said, how could I have signed it to them? However, it was no use wasting time over a matter that could not be explained. I must sign the form they brought with them and do away with the rest. I did accordingly and they went away satisfied. However, I must tell my readers here, that although S_y Sen and my uncle denied that they ever came to me before with any appeal form, it seemed impossible for me to believe what they said, because in that case I should have to disbelieve my own eyes, and who could do that? In order to make amends for this apparent contradiction I took their denial for a joke. I thought Sarat Babu was paying with me for fun's

sake It did not even for a moment strike me then that there could be anything super natural behind the incident playing hide and seek with us poor mortals of this mutable earth Gradually on our jail way road as I began to experience incident after incident of a similar nature I began gradually to form clearer and clearer notions as to the nature of such happenings As in the life of an individual or a society, we come across periods of transition and change, so also is the case with a whole people or a nation During those periods of transition questions of importance arise, and with such tremendous force as to threaten with destruction even the outer wall itself The very giddy heights from which such questions demand their solution, seem to affect not only the nation itself, but humanity in general, and would not stop even there they seem even to reach the very border lands of creation and affect the celestials in their relative movements Those are the waves I think that are capable of waking Shree Bhagawan or Maha Vishnu himself and do wake him up at times from his Rip-Van Winkle sleep on the *Anant Sahlam* or the causal waters It is I think as a result of one of those special processes that we come occasionally across such vivid and materialised manifestations of the Divinity There is one peculiar feature in these manifestations to which I should like to draw my readers' attention, and that is their very "transient character" Just for the time during which an incident like this is taking place, you are so over powered, and carried

away by it, that do all you can, you cannot but imagine that the incident is something quite real,—something that is happening only in the natural course of events and not otherwise. Moreover you are so liable to forget all about the incident the moment it is over, that it seems such a magic that a manifestation so vivid and material could have been swept clean out of your memory in a trice, leaving no trace of it as it were for you to remember. Such at least was the case with me during the early stages of my experiences, in these lines. In making these remarks the only object I have in view, is to place before my readers, a whole series of similar experiences keeping as far as possible their chronological order of recurrence, and if possible to offer an explanation, however defective, according to my lights.

I shall consider myself fortunate if I find that in writing this I have been able to attract the attention of thoughtful readers or persons such as have had similar experiences in their own lives, and are eager to enter into discussions regarding the laws or the causes that underlie such phenomena.

Now let us proceed with our story. After the commutement of the sentence of death on me and Barinda, by the High court we were given transportation for life, together with Hemdra and Upendra, and were sent away to the Andamans on board S S "Maharaja". As our boat arrived at Port Blair, the capital of the Andamans, the Civil Surgeon, jailor and some of the Port officers came to

inspect us and ordered that the whole of our lot i. e. the political prisoners should be sent away separately to the Central Jail direct, instead of being sent to the segregation camp along with other transportees, as was the usual practise whenever any fresh prisoners from India arrived. Accordingly we were sent to the Jail, called the Cellular Jail, a towering structure built on the top of a hill and standing out most conspicuous in its grim solitude as the only massive brick work in all the Andamans. From the nature of its construction one could easily infer that it was erected with the double purpose of a prison and a fort. According to the usual practice transported prisoners from India on their arrival were kept in the above Jail, for a period of about 6 months under observation. On expiry of that term they were sent to different stations in the settlement to work there under convict supervision. There are barracks erected for them, all over the Islands where they are lodged. What made the authorities change their course in our case God alone knows. They seemed to look upon us with worse suspicion than with which one would look upon a Dacoit or a murderer nay even a tiger or a wolf. It was therefore it seems, that they made us remain in jail for over two years and yet no orders for our transfer to the settlements, not only that they made us do the very worst kind of hard labour they had in store for a convict prisoner there, beginning with coir pounding and ending in the oil mills. No consideration was shown to us as literate people. However, we argued

let us try to pull on with the kind of work they chose to give us, as long as our health permit, and we shall see what course to adopt by and by. In this way 6 months passed, all the other prisoners that came by the same boat with us from Calcutta, were sent out, but no orders for us did come; one year passed, two years passed, how many fresh batches of new comers arrived and duly went out after 6 months, yet our fate remained the same. Committee after committee sat and we waited eagerly expecting some sort of a change but to no purpose. Tired at last we came almost to the end of our tether, when one fine morning news came of our transfer. Accordingly we gathered together our plates, cups and blankets, the only belongings we could talk of at the time, and assembled at the Gate. As soon as the necessary arrangements were complete, the gates opened and we went out shouting and laughing and jesticulating to our hearts' content. Port Blair being divided into two different districts viz., the eastern—where the Cellular Jail is situated, and the western—where an island known as the "Viper" Island stands as the head quarters of the District; some amongst us had to remain in the eastern District, and the rest of us had to separate from them at some distance from the Jail, and cross over to the Viper Islands, the head quarters of the western District by means of a ferry boat plyed by five or six convicts employed for the purpose. On our way we were told to go to the ration stores from which each of us were given raw rations, for one meal, so that when we reached

our respective stations, we might get cooked rations in exchange for the raw. According to the directions received at the Jail, my station happened to be on the western side, and our lot embarked on the ferry boat about four or five of us, landed on the other side, and reached the Head quarters together. There it being high time for our mid-day meal, we found that instead of starting at once for our respective stations, all of which were not less than four or five miles distant at least from Viper, it would be more convenient for all of us if we exchanged our rations there and took our meals first. Accordingly we went to the cook-shed, paid our raw rations, got cooked ones instead, and took our meals; then taking a little rest, we started leisurely on our respective journeys. For myself I was given a guide to accompany me, right up to Port Mouat, the name of the station where I was to be placed. All the rest of our fellow brethern had to go to different other stations with strict injunctions not to meet. As I proceeded for some distance with my guide, we came to a small village where the guide told me to stop for a little while, which I did, and the man began to talk to an old man that I found standing there on the way. Here again the supernatural once more. The old man that the guide was talking to, seemed to me to be a Bengalee Mohammedan hailing from Eastern Bengal, most probably from Tippera my own District, or from Mymensingh an adjacent District, at least, so I inferred from his tone and dialectic pronounciation. He was a "ticket of leave"

settled in that village and naturally enough I felt very glad indeed to meet one who spoke my own dialect even in such a far and out of the way place as an Andaman village. All on a sudden as the guide was speaking to the said Mohammedan, I seemed to hear a very familiar voice coming from somewhere near-about. I looked around and was quite amazed to find that it came from one of the huts near by, and wonder of wonders I saw clearly and distinctly the figure of one, for whom I had a very warm corner in the regions of my heart. Strange to say that though the voice was coming from inside the hut, yet the form that I saw, appeared as clear as day light, as if the thatch walls of the hut did not exist. The phenomenon seems to resemble that of Rontgen X Ray projections. I was simply stupefied so to say, and could not adjust myself to the state of things I was made to face. Of all the places on earth to meet her in a convict hut like this! Who could have thought, nay ever dreamed of such a thing as that? However I argued, She must have run away from her home, leaving father mother and all her relations, unable to bear the distance circumstance had placed between us, and has chosen to follow me even here, where she had somehow managed to board and lodge with this old Bengalee Ticket of leave. Here I think it is quite plain to my readers that I took this to be an actual fact only. I did not in the least think then, that there was anything supernatural in the occurrence, neither could I for all the world believe that there could be anything

supernatural in an object so vivid and materialised. However it was getting late and there was no time for me to engage in a lovers' quarrel with her there, for her hasty and indiscreet venture. The man directed me to proceed and I had to take leave of her in a half rain, half sunshine sort of a mood. The very strangest part of it all was the fact that as soon as I left the place and began to move, all recollections about the incident vanished as if by magic. From the above incident I am inclined to infer that there must be certain definite laws or rules regulating the movements and conduct of the supernaturals, so that the forces that they are working there may not transgress their specified limits, or else confusion and chaos only would have been the result of capricious and indiscriminate interloping between our world and theirs. (Told by himself)

(The Servant 14th—17th, Oct 1922)

PULINBEHARI DAS

Pulinbehari Das was born on the 28th of June, 1877, at Lonsing in the District of Faridpur. He was by caste a Bangaja Kayastha.

His father Nabakumar Das was a Magistrate's Head clerk. He was at first in the military commissariat, then got into kheda business for capturing elephants and ultimately became a pleader at Madaripur in the Faridpur district. He was a pious Hindu, always following what he thought right. He was intellectually very keen and was exceptionally strong in English. His nature was ease-loving and his temper strong. He established a Minor School in his village and started an annual fair.

Pulin's mother was a remarkable lady of education and character. She was the finest singer of her village. She knew paniting, sewing, cooking and other arts. She had a powerful memory and could learn by heart every song she heard. Her temper, however, was very hot.

Strangely enough, Pulin's relations both on the mother's and the father's side, were extremely loyal. His father who was a government servant subsequently, enlisted himself as a volunteer on the Government side during the sepoy mutiny. At this time Pulin's grand-father was a Deputy Magistrate at Chittagong. Pulin's grand-uncle too became the captain of volunteers while serving as

Head Master. He subsequently served as personal assistant to the Divisional Commissioner. Pulin's maternal uncle was a police Sub-Inspector and another maternal-uncle a Government servant. Thus Pulin came of an out-and-out loyal family who even risked their lives for the sake of the Government.

Pulin had his first rudiments of education from his mother at the age of four only. He read under a private tutor up to his 13th year. From the 5th to the 12th year he was at Barisal where his father was in the service of Government. Pulin was one of the first to join Sj. Aswinikumar Datta's school at Barisal, where he began to learn English at the age of 6. After a year he was removed to the Barisal Government-school by his father, where he studied for four years. Then he was taken to Faridpur where his father had been transferred, and passed the Entrance examination from the local Government school in 1894 in the second division. Mathematics was his strong subject and Geometry his favourite. He was awfully weak in English, but stood first very often in Mathematics.

He entered Dacca College in 1894, got thrice plucked in the First Arts Examination always failing in English, but secured high marks in Mathematics and Science. He passed the F. A. from Coochbihar College in North Bengal in 1899. Again he came back to Dacca College for his B. A. and took up honours in Mathematics and Science.

Two months before the First Arts Examination

his father died in December, 1898. After a couple of months his uncles refused him all help. So he had to earn his own living, and support his family consisting of his mother and brother. He was engaged in three private tuitions and helped Professor K. P. Bose in writing his mathematical books for each of which Pulin got a hundred rupees. He completed his B. A. lectures and for two years worked as a private tutor, and a teacher in the Dacca Government Collegiate School, some time in the Dacca Jubilee School and in the Ujirpur School in the district of Barisal for about a month.

He appeared in the B. A. Examination in 1903 but could not pass, getting plucked in English. He got himself again admitted into the Dacca College, working hard as a private tutor and writing books for Prof. K. P. Bose as before, but in 1904 again got plucked in English. Then he worked as a Laboratory Assistant at the Dacca College for a year.

While a student Pulin used to take part in all sports, but he was by no means a brilliant sportsman. In 1893 he quarrelled with his mother over sending his sister for education to the Zenna Mission people who tried to convert persons to Christianity. Pulin was very orthodox in his views and having failed to convince his mother, he bolted away from home in anger and started for Calcutta on foot following the map route, went 22 miles at a walk and slept in a grosser's shop when night set in. While asleep a dog came and passed urine on his

body, and taking this as a sign of God's disapproval of his conduct Pulin became repentant and returned. On his adventurous journey back some people took him as a mad man, others thought him to be a 'buno', (a low caste barbarous Hindu) and so forth. This little incident indicates the stuff he was made of, which so distinguished him afterwards in life.

In 1903, with some of his class fellows, Pulin began to learn lathi play from a Mahomedan of Dacca, who taught him very little lest a Hindu might learn the art and defeat the Mahomedans. When Lord Curzon went on a visit to Dacca, the Nawab brought over some players to entertain him. Professor Martaza was one of these. This man had a chequered career and remarkable ideas of his own. He learnt lathi play from Thugis with whom he had lived in jail. He was a magician and a circus player. Martaza was invited by Principal P. K. Ray to the College where he showed his skill. Pulin became his disciple. But at the request of the local Mahomedans Martaza did not teach him all the secrets. Pulin used to watch from a distance, took notes and began to practise by himself. He sometimes went over to Serampore near Calcutta where Martaza used to live with a Hindu woman, and Pulin served him as a Guru to become his favourite.

During the Bengal Partition agitation, acute feeling against Mahomedans grew, and public felt that Hindus should be organised. During the Vastami Puja and on the occasion of farewell sports in honour of Dr. P. K. Ray, Pulin showed his mas-

terly skill in lathi-play whence forward public came to know him. Dr. P. K. Ray himself wanted to see the play. Pulin was then working as a Laboratory Assistant in the College. People came to learn lathi-play from him, but he did not give lessons unless certain oaths were taken. He made it a point that only non-Christian Asiatics were to be taught. The idea was taken from Martaza who wanted a political Asiatic Federation against European powers to be formed. No one who had learnt the art could teach others without permission.

Even from the 13th year of his life Pulin cherished a strong sense of superiority of the Hindus as against Mahomedans and Christians and had a sort of superstitious belief that the British people would soon have to clear out as laid down by the Hindu shastras, and the Hindus would once more be established. He always romonstrated with his father on this point who held completely the opposite view.

Pulin read Bankimchandra's book Ananda Math at the age of 12, and got confirmed in his ideas. Then the Manipur war began. Pulin's sympathy was always on the side of the Manipuris. His all-engrossing study was how and why the Manipuris were defeated. Without the knowledge of his father he started manufacturing powder, clay-guns and at night used to fire them. One night he had an extraordinary dream. Brahma, Vishnu and Maheswar appeared and blessed him saying—Here is a hero who will do such and such things. After he

awoke he could not remember what these things were. He became almost mad after this, neglecting his studies absolutely.

In his childhood he used to hear with rapt attention the stories of the Sepoy Mutiny from his father and discuss with his class friends how to drive away the English from this country. While in the third class, he read Shivaji's life from the history and formed the idea of collecting money by dacoities for the salvation of the country. The dream of his boyhood was to pass the B A and become an engineer, which will make it an easy task for him to manufacture guns and ammunitions.

In the first year of his college life, he worked out plans of machineries of warfare which he could find in the books he read. Martial poems were also written by him even when he was a student of the 3rd class at school. His first poem was on the Manipur War, inviting all Hindu sects—Sikhs, Ryputs, Marathas and Bengalis to combine and fight against the common enemy.

Under the auspices of Messrs P. Mitra, Barrister at law, and Bipinchandra Pal, the Anusilan Samiti (society for the promotion of physical and mental culture) was started at Calcutta in the early days of the swadeshi movement in 1905. Some young men of Dacca took oath and promised to work under one leader. Pulin was chosen by them. For his lean physique Mr. Mitra was not willing to give him the leadership but at last yielded to pressure from the young men.

A meeting was held on the first floor of a building, the ground floor of which was being occupied as a police outpost of Dacca. About 70 persons took oath. School strikes took place at Rangpur and Dacca during partition agitation, because boys were fined for coming bare-footed on the day of national observance. A singular feature of this strike was that Mahomedans kept aloof. From Dacca Bipinchandra Pal came back to Calcutta to start a national school. Pulin went to Rangpur on the occasion, whence he came to Calcutta to come in touch with the Anusilan Samiti there. He went back to Dacca, but the old 70 did not turn up. The Dacca National School was started but only 30 students remained. Gradually the number rose to 150 with the efforts of Pulin.

The 70 were approached individually by Pulin, some 30 agreed to rejoin. A place named Swami Bag, Dacca, was taken lease of for the Samity. Learners took interest in *Lathi* play for its own sake. A form of pledge was introduced when the number grew rapidly. Firstly, a certain class of persons who did not devote their whole attention, such as football players etc. were excluded. Pledges gradually grew in number as necessity arose. Students, Government officers and junior pleaders enlisted themselves as members. The betrayal subsequently came from the younger section alone. At a certain period enlistment came to a stop.

Reports from the mofussil of Mahomedan oppression began to pour in. The Mahomedans of Dacca

posted intimidating placards in the town. This was taken advantage of and people were invited by the Samity to learn how to defend their hearths and homes. Mock-contests were organised. On the date of the first mock-fight the news of breaking up of the Barisal Conference by free use of the regulation lathi by the police, reached Dacca and members got dejected, but were ultimately roused up. Two clubs were engaged in mock-fight—one of the parties was twice defeated. New members came in and the competition ran high: Other parties, numbering about fifteen also took part. Ultimately about a thousand members were enlisted. Government officers, Christian missionaries and even Europeans began to take a keen interest in these fights. The Hindus became convinced of their strength and potentialities as against Mahomedans and began to help the Samity.

Repeated calls from the moffussil came and Pulin went on a tour through Eastern Bengal and Assam (the Bengali portion), North Bengal and West Bengal. Even from Surat and Ahmedabad calls came, where no permanent organisations could, however, be set up.

Branches numbered about 500 and the total strength of members rose to some 30,000 in 1906-1908. High and low class Hindus both joined and the cause was the feeling against the Mahomedans, to which was subsequently added the hatred for the Government which partitioned Bengal against the unanimous opposition of the Bengalis,

In 1907 counter-organisations were set up by Mahomedans under the patronage of the Nawab of Dacca, who was backed by the Government. Opportunity was always sought by the Mahomedans for an onslaught. One day about 700 Mahomedans attacked the house where lathi-play was taught. Some six or seven members of the Samity offered a splendid defence wounding 40 or 50 of the aggressors, without receiving any injury themselves. Pulin was arrested and convicted and given 3 weeks' imprisonment with a fine of Rs 15/-. On appeal the order of imprisonment was smashed, but he had to pay the fine. Pulin was released on bail the day after his arrest.

In 1908 Pulin was arrested on a charge of kidnapping boys who had been living with him in a boarding house. He was lodged in jail for 17 days. The guardian of a boy applied for prosecution. The boy who was 15, denied any use of force. The case was filed by the maternal uncle of the boy, but the father came and expressed his consent to allow the boy living with Pulin. Other guardians also willingly gave their consent.

At this time a youngman said to be an approver was murdered but no clue could be had nor any identification made.

Pulin was again arrested on the day of his release on another charge of kidnapping, but the case failed.

Three weeks after this Pulin was deported to the Punjab under Regulation III of 1818, without

any warrant. Before this he was very closely watched by the police. One night the police broke open the door of the house in which he lived and dragged him into a carriage without even allowing him to take his clothings in a wintry night. The house was surrounded by 250 armed Gurkhas. This happened in December 1908. He was kept in the Montgomery Jail for 14 months after which he was released. He came back to Calcutta on the 13th of February, 1909 and joined the Law classes of the Ripon College.

Five months after this, he was arrested again on August 2, 1909. News of his arrest was circulated in July. Tempting offers were held before him which were flatly rejected. He remained an under trial prisoner for about 2 years and at last got 7 years' transportation. From the Andamans he was sent to Madras whence again was taken to Krishnagar Jail in Bengal and released. An order of internment was served then and there. From March 1909 to January 1920 he remained interned at home. On the 13th of January he was released once more.

One of his nearest relation who was a government man tried to implicate him in further troubles after his release and had been enjoying alone all the property left by Pulin's father. Pulin first joined the Calcutta Swadeshi Stores, served there for 6 months and entered the Calcutta Soap Factory where he remained for about a year. He is now living with his wife and children at Calcutta acting as Secretary of the Bharat Sevak Sangha—an organisation for social service.

THE ANUSILAN SAMITI

We shall now proceed to give an idea of the Samiti Pulin so ably organised. We shall quote the language of the High Court Judge here —

(1) The Samiti had a jealously guarded secret and every effort was made to preserve it in isolate. The secret was such that it was not even to be discussed amongst the members themselves. They were not even to write letters to their friends and relatives without the permission of the leader and all letters for and from members were to be shown to him. Members were to cut themselves off completely from their friends and relatives and monies obtained from them were to be regarded as the common property of the Samiti.

The members were bound by solemn oaths of secrecy and willingly subjected themselves to semi-military discipline. There were hard and fast rules for doing all the domestic work, for the care of the property, for issue of books in the library for setting of a night watch and for matters of strict discipline within the walls.

The Dacca Samiti was to be the central institution to which societies with the same object and scope were to be affiliated in all parts of the country. The idea was that the society was to send out inspectors to every village throughout the length and breadth of the Province and information about the villages were to be collected, relating to the inhabitants, fairs, produce, roads and water-courses,

secrecy, enthusiasm or otherwise of the samiti members and other matters. A map was to be attached to each village note to indicate the roads and rivers, meadows and canals, houses and garden, and the specimens on the record indicate fairly with what minuteness the information has been collected and depicted on the map. Statistical and other important information to be collected was remarkable.

(4) The members themselves were to be admitted to the fraternity only after they had taken the most solemn vows in the presence of an image of the Goddess Kali.

(5) If any outsider without taking the oath and refusing to take it obtained entrance into the society, his knowledge was to be destroyed.

(6) The central idea was that there was no possibility of unity unless subordination to one leader was accepted—a leader into whose hands, as Pulin put it, individual freedom was to be totally surrendered in order that national and social freedom ought be achieved.

The leader was entitled to complete and unquestioned supremacy and every effort was to be made to prevent the growth of rival institutions even for the promotion of physical culture.

(b) In addition to gymnastics, drills and other forms of physical exercise, there was a systematic discussion of the objects of the society.

For the first two years of its existence the Samiti flourished openly. When at the end of 1905 it was declared an illegal association under the Cri-

minal Law Amendment Act of that year and Pulin-behari Das and others were deported, it removed its operations to other provinces. While its organisation was most compact in Mymensing and Dacca, it was active from Dinajpur in the north-west to Chittagong in the south-east and from Cooch Behar in the north-east to Midnapur on the south-west. Outside Bengal its members were working in Assam, Bihar, the Panjab, the United Provinces, the Central Provinces and at Poona.

JATINDRANATH MUKHERJI.

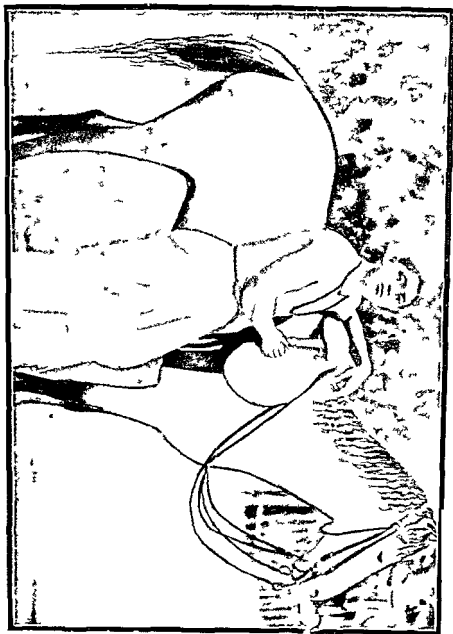
Jatindranath Mukherji was born in the year 1878 at Kaya in the district of Nadia, in his maternal uncle's house. His ancestral home was at Rishikhali in Jessore.

Jatin's father Umeshchandra Mukherji died when he was only five years old. His mother who was an ideal and accomplished lady died in his twentieth year. She could compose verses and was very intelligent. She was of a very charitable turn of mind and always used to teach her son to be truthful and unattached in worldly affairs. In his childhood Jatin was a simple but spirited lad extremely restive.

Since his father's death Jatindra lived with his maternal uncle, Babu Basantokumar Chatterji, Government Pleader, Krishnagar, and passed the Entrance Examination from the local A. V. School in 1898. He was a good boy at school and was of a strong religious turn of mind.

He was at Central College, Calcutta, for two years studying for the First Arts Examination. He learnt shorthand also and entered a merchant office as an assistant on Rs 50/-. From there he went to Muzaffarpur, Bihar, as shorthand-writer to Mr. Kennedy, Bar-at-law, on Rs 80/-. Then he entered Government service and was occupying the post of shorthand-writer to Mr. Wheeler, now famous Sir Henry Wheeler, Governor of Bihar.

That he was of an exceedingly daring nature is



proved by the fact that he caught hold of a leopard in 1906, and killed it with a knife. For this he was awarded a medal. The animal gave him severe injuries all over the body and Jatin had to remain six months under the treatment of Dr. S. P. Sarbadhikary who was kind enough to treat him freely. The skin of the leopard was presented to the Doctor by his patient as a token of gratitude. During this period Jatin used to read the Gita and compose verses.

Jatin was an expert in lathi-play and all sorts of sports including wrestling. Once he walked over the whole way from Ranchi to Hazaribag—a distance of 70 miles ! On another occasion he byked some 75 miles and reached Murshidabad from Jheniadaha in Jessore. Many a time he got down from running trains when they would pass without stopping at the nearest station from his home. He had a horse by the name of Sundari (the beautiful) which no one else could ride.

Jatindra always extended his helping hand to the poor, the needy and the afflicted. He used to read the Gita everyday and had his spiritual Guru in Baba Bhola Giri of Hardwar. He had travelled extensively throughout India.

He was married in 1900 at Kumarkhali, Kustia. In 1903, a son was born, but died. Jatin was not overpowered with sorrow. He always looked jolly. He was a very affectionate father and husband. He left two sons and one daughter. He surrendered himself to God's will absolutely and never thought of consequences in doing his duty.

Jatin was arrested in 1910, but was released after a year. While an undertrial prisoner one day he had a fatal attack of diarrhoea in jail, but such was his vitality that he survived it. His mother-in-law died of sorrow at Jatin's fate. In 1905, he gave a good thrashing to four European soldiers while travelling in the Darjeeling mail. For this he was prosecuted, but the soldiers withdrew the case for fear of disgrace. In 1913, Jatin was dismissed from service. In 1915, he began working as a contractor in Jessore and used to earn a lot of money which however was all spent in helping poor students. He did splendid work in connection with the Damodar flood.

He had all along been under police surveillance. He had absconded after the Pathuriaghata murder case. The police wanted him in connection with a gun running plot from America. A contingent of armed police was sent to Balasore and open fight took place. Jatindra kept the whole party at bay for two days fighting from a trench. But his munitions ran short and he was mortally wounded. When the late Mr J N Roy, Bar at law, asked Mr Tegart of the CID whether Jatin had been living Mr Tegart replied—'Unfortunately he is dead. Mr Roy remarked "Why unfortunately?" Mr Tegart is reported to have said—"Though I had to do my duties I have a great admiration for him. He was the only Bengali who died in an open fight from a trench."

Says the Sedition Committee's Report :—

The continuance of the proceedings under the Criminal Law over a period of 12 months against 50 accused persons was followed by a complete cessation of political dacoities in the districts around Calcutta, until a notable individual named Jatindra Mukherji became the leader of a party in Western Bengal about 1914.

Cases occurred of four dacoities, committed with the help of automobile taxi-cabs, a new feature in revolutionary crime. They commenced with the Garden Reach dacoity on the 12th of February. It was committed by persons working under the direction of the notable leaders, Jatin Mukherji and Bepin Ganguly. It was carefully planned so as to intercept the servant of Bird & Co., carrying a weekly sum of Rs. 20,000 from the Chartered Bank in Calcutta to Bird & Co's mills at Garden Reach, a little way down the Hoogly. The party succeeded in getting Rs. 18,000 and escaping with it to Calcutta where it was handed over to a person known as the "financial minister."

The Garden Reach dacoity was followed in a week by another serious dacoity at Beliaghata in Calcutta, where the revolutionaries, with the help of a taxi-cab and acting under the direction of Jatin Mukherji, succeeded in extorting from the cashier of a rice merchant Rs 20,000 in cash and currency notes. Shortly after the outrage the dead body of a taxi-cab driver was discovered, the driver having presumably been shot and thrown out of the carriage for disobedience to orders.

Two days later occurred the murder of Nirod Halder in Pathuriaghata Street. There is ample evidence of a convincing nature that he was murdered because he unexpectedly came into a room where Jatin Mukherji with other revolutionaries was seated and recognised Jatin and addressed him by name.

Four days later, in Cornwallis Street in Calcutta, Inspector Sureshchandra Mukherji, while on duty with an orderly supervising arrangements in connection with a ceremony at the Calcutta University at which the Viceroy was to attend, noticed an absconding revolutionary in the street and approached to arrest him, when he was fired at by the revolutionary and four others. The Inspector was killed and the orderly wounded. There is very good reason for believing that the murder of this officer was planned by Jatin Mukherji.

Information was received towards the end of March, 1915, that Jatin had gone to Balasore where the Mahanadi from the west discharges into the Bay of Bengal. In or about September, in consequence of information received in connection with the German plot, certain officers of the C. I. D. in Calcutta went to Balasore to search the premises of a firm doing business under the name of the "Universal Emporium" which was made there, searches took place in the hills in the neighbouring Mourbhanj S' eventually five Bengalis were discovered in a jungle. They had killed one villager and

another and subsequently fired upon an attacking party which was led by the Magistrate of Balasore. The result of this affray was that a well-known revolutionary, Chittapriya Ray Choudhury—whom the Sub Inspector murdered in Cornwallis Street had tried to arrest on the 28th February—and another revolutionary were found wounded. Jatin died of his wounds a few days later. Six years before this, the murder of Deputy Superintendent Shams-ul-Alam who was conducting the Alipur Bomb case, on the steps of the High Court by Birendra Datta Gupta, who made a confession before his execution, took place under the inspiration of Jatin Mukherji.

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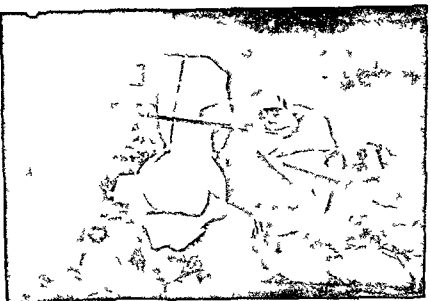
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RASHBIHARI BASU

Rashbihari Basu was born in May, 1886, in a small village named Subaldaha in the district of Burdwan, in Bengal. From his infancy he was brought up at the house of his maternal uncle in the village of Palara-Bighati near Bhadreswar in the district of Hoogly. While Rashbihari with his mother was there, his father bought a house at Chandernagore. Rashbihari's father Binodebihari, was a clerk in the Government Press. From Calcutta he was transferred to Simla where he remained for the most part of his service.

When the house at Chandernagore was purchased, Rashbihari entered the local Dupleix College from where he was taken to Calcutta while reading in the 6th or 7th class. His grandfather Kalicharan Basu did not leave his ancestral home at Subaldaha. Rashbihari lived with his father and afterwards with his uncles in Calcutta, and read up to the Entrance class at the Morton Institution. Thenceforward he had rather given up his regular studies. This happened in 1903.

He first lost himself in the dream of Sepoy Mutiny reading *Saratchandra* by the late Debiprosanna Rai Choudhury. The military tricks he had read of in this book in connection with Sepoy Mutiny made a great impression on him and by his doings he tried to create a sensation amongst his friends,



Rashbihari



Sailen

When he was in the 4th class in the year 1900, he felt the call of Liberty within himself. As in the case of many others, his inspiration came from the immortal *Anandamath* by Bankimchandra Chatterji. The poet Nabinchandra Sen's "Battle of Plassey" added incentives.

Rashbihari, while reading in the second class, began to send in applications to get himself enlisted as a Sepoy. The garrison Quarter Master of the Fort Willam wrote to him that information could be obtained from the recruiting office, Lucknow. In reply to his application there, he was informed that Bengalis were not enlisted in the native army. Then he applied to the French authorities at Pondicherry. He was so obsessed that without waiting for a reply, he himself went over to Pondicherry and was told there was no vacancy but in the case of the first vacancy he would be called. Subsequently he got a written reply also to this effect.

After this, he served as a clerk in the Fort William for about a fortnight. The reply he got from the officer there contained the information that he could be taken in as a clerk. So he entered the clerical service attached to the army after great efforts. But he was not satisfied. Again he began to send in applications for enlistment in the army of the various native states, and actually started for Jaipur without caring for the reply. On his way he was caught at Mirzapur by one of his distant relatives and sent back to Chandernagore. His career at school was thus frequently disturbed but as he

was a "good boy" he was promoted to the 1st class. Again he became restless and went to his father at Simla.

His father could only feel what was going on with him and forced him to enter service. He applied to the Captain of the Volunteer Corps but the reply fell in his father's hands who gave him a good chiding.

Rashbihari himself secured a post and went to Kasauli which was a main centre of transport for the Gurkha soldiers. His chief occupation was to get into touch with them and preach sedition. As there were a large number of Gurkha regiments at Dehradun, Rashbihari transferred the place of his activity there. He secured a clerkship and stayed at Dehradun till he came back to Chander nagore on 9 months leave, when the Delhi conspiracy case commenced.

From this case it can be gathered that Rashbihari besides creating disaffection in the army converted a number of highly educated Panjabi youths to his revolutionary views. He got his baptism in Bengal and spread and consolidated this revolutionary creed in the Panjab. The whole history of this campaign is shrouded in mystery. Had he not absconded he would certainly have been hanged like his associate. When a friend of his applied to the Government of India to extend Royal clemency on Rashbihari in 1921 and allow him to return to his country the Director of the Criminal Intelligence Bureau remarked amongst other things

that "there could not be any possibility of doubt that if Rashbihari Bose had stood his trial at the time—he would have met the same fate *i. e.* condemned to death and executed." This shows the attitude of the authorities towards Rashbihari.

Living as an absconder Rashbihari got very great opportunities for carrying out his plan. This is proved from the facts of the Benares and Lahore conspiracy cases. But the wonder is that Rashbihari while working with Indian and America-returned revolutionaries got himself involved in the conspiracy for creating disaffection in the army which was his dream of childhood even. The Sepoy Mutiny could not free India from her chains, this time also Rashbihari's efforts ended in conspiracy alone, before any revolution could take place, when he left India for foreign lands.

Let us quote at length the following from the Sedition Committee's Report :—

Rashbehari Bose, a Bengali Hindu, was the Head Clerk of the Forest Research Institute of Dehra Dun. Rashbehari educated Dinanath, an up-country Hindu and a disciple of Hardayal, as well as two other young Hindus, Abadbehari and Balmokand, and arranged for the dissemination of seditious literature and throwing of Bombs, introducing to the society his servant, a young Bengali named Basantakumar Biswas.

The evidence produced at the Delhi Conspiracy Case inspires a strong suspicion that this party contrived the Delhi outrage and proves that they

distributed widely among students and others a leaflet (extolling the attempt on Lord Hardinge's life, in December 1912) * and other violently inflammatory leaflets received from Calcutta. It was also established, that in pursuance of their plans, Basanta had placed a bomb on a road in the Lawrence Gardens at Lahore on the evening of May the 17th, 1913, with the intention of killing or injuring some Europeans. The bomb, however, killed no one but an unfortunate Indian orderly, who ran over it in the dark on his bicycle. Dinanath turned approver. Amirchand, lately a teacher in the Cambridge Mission High School, Delhi, Abadbehari, Balmokand and Basanta were convicted and hanged. But Rashbehari escaped.

Early in 1914 Rashbehari arrived at Benares and practically took charge of the movement there, (for the expulsion of the British by inciting the masses with seditious speeches and using violent means) conducted by Sachindranath Sanyal who had been working since 1908 when a school boy and was sentenced later on to transportation for life in the Benares Conspiracy Case. A reward of Rs 7500 had been offered for Rashbehari's arrest and his photograph had been widely circulated, but he succeeded

* The Pamphlet says— The Gita the Vedas and the Koran all enjoin us to kill all the enemies of our Motherland irrespective of caste creed and colour. Leaving other great and small things the special manifestation of the Divine force at Delhi in December last has proved beyond doubt that the destiny of India is being moulded by God himself.

with Pingley and after their arrival, Rashbehari, who had again shifted his residence held in their presence an informal meeting of the party. He announced that a general rebellion was impending, and informed his audience that they must be prepared to die for their country. A school master named Damador Swarup was to be the leader at Allahabad. Rashbehari himself was going to Lahore with Sachindra and Pingley. Two men were assigned to bring bombs and arms from Bengal, and two others, one a Maratha named Vinayak Rao Kapile, to convey bombs to the Panjab. Another couple, Bibhuti and Priyanath, were to seduce the troops at Benares, while a Bengali named Nalini was to do the same at Jubbulpore in the Central Provinces.

Arrangements were made for executing these plans; Rashbehari and Sachindra departed for Lahore and Delhi, but Sachindra returned directly to take command at Benares. On February the 14th, Manilal, afterwards an approver, and Vinayak Rao Kapile, both natives of Western India, left Benares for Lahore with a parcel containing material for 18 bombs. In order to protect the parcel from accidental contact, as the train was crowded, they travelled intermediate from Lucknow and paid excess fares, both at Lucknow and Moradabad. They had originally taken third class tickets. On arrival at Lahore, Manilal was informed by Rashbehari that the date for simultaneous armed rebellion would be on the 21st of the month.

Intimation of this date was conveyed to Benares but afterwards it was changed because the Lahore party had reason to suspect that one of their number who was a spy, had informed the police. The revolutionaries, however, left behind at Benares under Suchindra never learnt of the change, and waited on the parade ground on the evening of the 21st expecting a rising. In the meantime events at Lahore had exploded the conspiracy and many arrests had been made. Rashbihari and Pingley returned to Benares, but only for some days, and the latter took bombs with him to Meerut where he was arrested on the 23rd of March in the lines of the 12th Indian Cavalry with a box in his possession containing ten bombs sufficient to annihilate half a regiment. He was afterwards convicted of participation in the Lahore conspiracy and sentenced to death. The bombs which were found in his possession had, according to the approver Bibhuti, been brought to Benares from Calcutta and left in store there. When discovered with Pingley they were in a tin trunk. Five had their caps on, and there were two separate caps with gun-cotton inside.

Rashbihari left the country after a final interview with a few of his Benares disciples at Calcutta in the course of which he informed them that he was going to "some hills" and would not be back for two years. They were however, to continue organisation and distribution of seditious literature during his absence under the leadership of Suchindra and Nagendranath Datta alias Giryā Bibu, of

Eastern Bengal, a veteran associate of the Dacca Anusilan Samiti, whose name appears in a note book belonging to Abani Mukherji, a Bengali arrested at Singapore, in connection with the Bengal German gun running plot. Sachindra, Girija Babu and other members of the party were subsequently arrested and tried by a court constituted under the Defence of India Act. Several turned approvers, ten were sentenced to long terms of imprisonment and Sachindranath Sanyal was transported for life. Evidence given at the trial established charges of various attempts to tamper with troops and distribution of seditious leaflets as well as the incidents above narrated.

After Pingley's arrival in the Punjab in December 1914, a meeting was held at which revolution, the plundering of Government treasuries, the seduction of Indian troops the collection of arms, the preparation of bombs and the commission of dacoities were all discussed. Rashbehari arrived from Benares where he had been living in hiding. A house was procured for him in Amritsar, where he lived with other Bengalis till the beginning of February 1915. There he worked in concert with the leading Sikh revolutionaries. Early in February he arranged for a general rising on the 21st of February of which Lahore was to be the head quarters. He went there and sent out emissaries to various cantonments in Upper India to procure military aid for the appointed day. He also tried to organise the collection of gangs of villagers, arms were got together, flags

were made ready, a declaration of war was drawn up, instruments were collected for destroying rail ways and telegraph wires. In the meantime, however, in order to raise funds for the financing of the enterprise, some Panjab revolutionaries had committed various dacoities. Information of the projected rising had been received through a spy. Rashbehari's headquarters were raided on the 19th of February, and seven returned emigrants were found there in possession of a revolver, bombs, as well as four revolutionary flags. Several house-searches and arrests were made. Rashbehari and Pingley made good their escape.

In October 1915, the Shanghai Municipal Police arrested two Chinamen in possession of 129 automatic pistols and 20,830 rounds of ammunition which they had been instructed by a German named Nielsen to take to Calcutta concealed in the centre of bundles of planks. The address to which they were to be delivered was Amarendra Chatterji, Srampati Samavaya, Calcutta.

The address of Nielsen, namely, 32, Yangtsepoo Road, which was proved in the trial of these Chinamen, appears in a note book found on the person of Abani, the emissary to Japan when he was arrested at Singapore on his homeward voyage. There is reason to believe that this or a similar plot was hatched in consultation with Rashbehari Basu, who was then living in Nielsen's house, for pistols which Rashbehari wished to send to India were obtained by a Chinaman from the Mai Tah dispensary, 108,

Chao Tung Road, which was one of Nielsen's addresses recorded in the note book

Rashbehari is now living at Tokyo, Japan, where he has married a Japanese lady. He has been still working for his motherland's cause from that distant land. The Asiatic Review—the only English international monthly of Japan—is being published with his help and some of his articles may be found there. When a reward of 12,500 was declared for his arrest, Rashbehari told his associates to hand him over to the Government, so that the revolutionary party might be saved from dire want of funds and his life's work might go on.

"Within or Without the Empire."

The following letter was addressed to the editor,
"Young India" by Rishbihari

Sir,

I am an Indian—a refugee in Japan. I am not sure whether it is not the height of impertinence for an insignificant humble being like me to join issue with you, or for the matter of that with most of the Congress leaders on a subject on which you all are regarded as, or at least supposed to be authorities, having spent much time and money in the study of political philosophy as propounded by the English writers. As an Indian and as one who tried in the past to serve Mother India in his own way and who hopes to continue his work in future, although along different lines, I, however, consider it of paramount importance to address you these few lines in order to get a clearly definite expression of your opinion on a vital question.

In the Young India of August 3, 1922, (page 321), you reproduced under the heading 'The Mentality of Free Nations' an article from an Australian Labour paper passing, rightly a severe criticism about Mr Shastri's mission, and remarked therein—"It is no wonder that the attitude of Australian workers is one of disgust towards an Indian who accepts the subjection of his country to foreign rule when it is sought to be kept up not by consent but by force of military power—"Now I would respectfully ask you

to let the Indian people know through the columns of your paper if there is a single instance in the whole world of a foreign rule kept up by the consent of the governed. For a free and full growth, complete freedom is absolutely essential not only for human beings but also for animals and plants even. The domination of one by another is unnatural and contrary to the highest impulse of human nature. No people on earth can consent to be governed by another people. It is an anomaly and except in English political literature this phraseology i.e., to maintain foreign rule with the consent of the governed, cannot be found anywhere else in the world. There can be either Freedom or the opposite of it—Slavery. There is no midway. If you and other venerable leaders want real liberty for India, you must be prepared to sever all British connection and must announce to that effect. On the other hand if it is the object of the Congress not to exert for complete independence but to endeavour to better Indian's lot within the Empire and to ensure her more humane treatment at the hands of her conqueror by securing Home Rule, which, in other words means perpetuation of her present position of a slave the Congress leaders should say so plainly. It certainly does more harm than good to adopt an unnatural course, as implied in your remarks about foreign rule with the consent of the governed.

I have had a talk on this subject with many Americans and Japanese, some of them being authorities on international laws. They just simply cannot

understand what the Indian leaders mean by Home Rule or status of equal partnership within the Empire. Australia and Canada can have real freedom within the Empire for the sole reason that they are peopled by the same British race and have the same customs, manners, traditions, religion and language. They are quite right and logical when they claim the Empire as their own. But the case of India is quite different. She is a conquered country inhabited by people of completely different customs, traditions, religion and language. For India to desire to remain within the Empire is to acknowledge herself as a slave. Freedom and slavery cannot go together. If India wants freedom, she must completely sever all connections with Britain. Of course she will be at liberty to conclude a friendly alliance with England but that should be done as between equals between two sovereign states. If she wants Home Rule or status of equal partnership within the Empire, it cannot mean anything else than that she desires to perpetuate her serfhood.

Tokyo, Japan.
September 21, 1922.

Yours truly,
Rash Behari Bose

SILENDRANATH GHOSH

Sailendranath Ghosh was born at Senhati in the district of Khulna, Bengal in the month of November, 1892 This was his maternal uncle's home His ancestral village is Kurigram, Narail, in the district of Jessore

Sailen's father—Sriyat Jadunath Ghosh, an old man of 67 now—read up to the B A standard, entered the Jail department in 1879 as an Assistant Jailor, served in that capacity up to 1884 when his services were dispensed with in consequence of a quarrel with one of his superior officers Then Jadu Babu shifted to the Government Education department and retired with a pension in 1915 after serving full thirty years Another of his ancestors was also in the Jail Department for a short time and some of the members of the family are still in Government service as professor, etc,

Sailen's mother Kusum Kumari was an educated brilliant lady who died a premature death at the age of 27 at Senhati, her father's house, in 1900, leaving three male children of whom Sailen was the eldest She was married in 1885 She had a daughter who was born before Sailen, but died at the age of 13 Sailen's second brother Benoyendra sat for the final M B examination of the Calcutta University His third brother Anilendra after passing the B Sc examination has entered the Engineering classes of the Benares Hindu University. Sailen has two younger step-brothers and one step-sister

Sailen's grandfather lived up to more than 80 years, and his grandmother died at the age of 104

Sailen was first sent to the Senhati High English School for his education where he continued up to the 6th class. Then he was transferred to the Victoria Collegiate School, Narail, only for a year. Then he was taken to the Ravenshaw Collegiate School, Cuttack, Orissa, in 1904. He appeared in the Entrance Examination in 1908, but got plucked in Sanskrit. His cousin, who was a professor in the Government College, Cuttack, and with whom he was putting up, got violently angry with him at this, and for his taking part in the Swadeshi movement started in connection with the Bengal Partition agitation. Sailen was fined Rs. 5/- by the Head Master of the Collegiate school for participation in the Swadeshi agitation. The professor was bent upon stopping Sailen's further education but at the request of Sailen's father, gave him a fresh chance for continuing his studies but in a different school, viz, Cuttack Training Academy, whence he successfully passed the Entrance Examination next year with a second grade scholarship.

He was admitted into the Ravenshaw College in 1909 and took up Intermediate in Science with Botany as his additional subject. In 1911 he passed the I Sc examination in the first division.

Then he entered the Presidency College, Calcutta, and passed the B Sc in examination 1913 with first class honours in physics, securing a scholarship of Rs. 32/- per month for two years.

From the same College he took the degree of Master of Science with a first class first in physics in 1915 submitting in lieu of his optional papers a brilliant thesis on "the properties of iron films deposited electrolytically in a magnetic field"

Sailen secured record marks in his "research papers" on physics in the M Sc Examination and was awarded a scholarship of Rs 150/ per month in the University College of Science, Calcutta. He helped the authorities in securing appliances for the Physical Laboratory of the College from Maharaj Sir Manindrachandra Nandi of Cossimbazar.

The Syndicate of the Calcutta University further sanctioned a scholarship of Rs 250/ a month to enable him to prosecute his higher studies in the Harvard University tenable for three years or more. After weeks nay, months of police investigation Sailen was granted a first class character certificate by the then Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal, and was given a pass port for America. But at the last moment, this pass port was snatched away from him, under the Defence of India Act, on the allegation of having harboured for a night (as was subsequently known) a small band of political dacoits. Moreover, a home internment order was issued against him under the same monstrous Act. Sailen had made himself scarce and been on the look out for escaping abroad to save himself from the clutches of the Indian Government.

He absconded in June, 1916, living in Calcutta and elsewhere in hiding for a few months, obtained

supply of funds wherewith to go away to a foreign country, and in the disguise of a sailor started for *America in December, 1916*, where he reached safely in time

In May 1917 information was received through Government that he had been arrested at New York by the United States Government. He was released on a bail of 25,000 dollars along with 14 others who were however convicted on a charge of conspiracy against the British Government.

After appearing in the B S c Examination Saïlen came over to Krishnagar, Bengal, where his cousin had been transferred as a Professor of Physics in the local Government College. To spend the vacation in a worthy manner he suggested to some of his friends there to start an institution for the education of the working classes. In conjunction with the present author, he set himself in right earnest about this, and as a result of their effort stands the Krishnagar Workingmen's Institute, one of the finest institutions for the education of the masses in Bengal.

During Saïlen's College days, his father and uncle pressed for his marriage, but he sternly refused to marry. He had a large circle of friends amongst the student population of Bengal, and Calcutta, in particular, who were then in the vortex of revolutionary movement in Bengal, though secretly.

Saïlen has always been very affectionate towards relations and friends. He has been regularly corresponding with them since his selftransporation to

America. He has made his way there in the political field, where he has gained distinction, as National Organiser of the Friends of Freedom for India Society. This Society has opened branches in the important centres of the United States of America, such as Boston, Philadelphia, Washington, Chicago, Pittsburgh and New York. The object of the Society is to maintain the right of asylum for political refugees from India, and to present the case for the Independence of India. The sympathies of the American people are being enlisted and a glance at the letter given below will give an idea of the Society and its importance. This letter was written to one of his friends in August, 1921.

Salien is also acting as the National Director of the American Commission to promote Self-Government (Swaraj) in India with its head-quarters at Washington. Many gentlemen of position and influence including some Judges, Mayors, Ex-Governors, Senators and others are its members.

Friends of Freedom for India.

799 Broadway (Rooms 538-539-540)

came across your name. And that is why I am writing you this letter.

It seems to us very desirable that Indian National Congress should be represented at the Disarmament Conference in Washington D. C. this November. Representatives from all free and oppressed nations are going to be there and why shall not India be represented there ?

We made preliminary enquiries and have been told that if we have an official status—an official delegation of the Indian National Congress—we can be given a hearing.

The Friends of Freedom for India which I organised about two years ago will be there, but it will be there as an American organisation.

Please try your best to send a delegation to this Conference. In case you cannot send one then we wish to be recognised as the official delegates of the Indian National Congress. Given this credential I assure you we shall not only be heard at Washington, but can raise enough money to support the entire movement from this country. Money can be had. We need more workers. Then I can assure you the rest.

In case you can have me declared as the official delegate of the Congress please send me an official letter and have it announced publicly in the daily papers. I may have to retain the service of a lawyer (close to President Harding) and need have to have wide powers. Do your best.

*August 22nd,
1921.*

Hoping to hear from you.
Sincerely yours
Sailen Ghose.

the Sundarbans. The cargo was said to consist of 30,000 rifles with 400 rounds of ammunition each and 2 lakhs of rupees. Meanwhile "Martin" had telegraphed to Harry & Sons in Calcutta, a bogus firm kept by a well known revolutionary, that 'business was helpful'. In June Harry & Sons wired to "Martin" for money, and then began a series of remittances from Helfferich in Batavia to Harry & Sons in Calcutta between June and August, which aggregated Rs 43,000, of which the revolutionaries received Rs 33,000 before the authorities discovered what was going on.

"Martin" returned to India in the middle of June, and the conspirators Jatind Mukherji, Jadu Gopal Mukherji, Narendra Bhattacharji ("Martin"), Bholenath Chatterji and Atul Ghosh set about making plans to receive the Maverick's cargo and employ it to the best advantage. They decided to divide the arms into three parts, to be sent respectively to—

- (1) Hatia, for the Eastern Bengal districts to be worked by the members of the Barisal party
- (2) Calcutta
- (3) Balasore

They considered that they were numerically strong enough to deal with the troops in Bengal, but they feared reinforcements from outside. With this idea in view they decided to hold up the three main railways into Bengal by blowing up the principal bridges. Jatindra was to deal with the Madras

Nagpur Railway, while Satish Chakrabarti was to go to Ajay and blow up the bridge on the East Indian Railway. Naren Chaudhuri and Phanindra Chakrabarti were told off to go to Hatia, where a force was to collect, first, to obtain control of the Eastern Bengal districts, and then to march on to Calcutta. The Calcutta party, under Naren Bhattacharji and Bepin Ganguli, were first to take Fort William, and afterwards to sack the town of Calcutta. The German officers arriving in the *Maverick* were to stay in Eastern Bengal and raise and train armies.

In the meantime, the work of taking delivery of the cargo of the *Maverick* was apparently arranged by Jadu Gopal Mukharji who is said to have placed himself in communication with a zamindar in the vicinity of Rai Mangal, who had promised to provide men, lighters, etc., for the unloading of the vessel. The *Maverick* would arrive at night and would be recognised by a series of lamps hung horizontally. It was hoped that the first distribution of arms would take place by the 1st of July 1915.

There was no doubt that some men under instruction from Atul Ghosh, actually went down by boat to the neighbourhood of Rai Mangal to help in the unloading of the *Maverick*. They seemed to have stayed there about ten days, but by the end of June the *Maverick* had not arrived, nor had any message been received from Batavia to explain the delay.

While the conspirators were waiting for the *Maverick* a Bengali arrived from Bangkok on the 3rd July with a message from Atmaram, a Punjabi

APPENDIX.

(From the Sedition Committee's Report)

THE GERMAN PLOT IN BENGAL.

In August 1915 the French Police reported that it was generally believed among revolutionary Indians in Europe that a rebellion would break out in India in a short time and that Germany would support the movement with all her power. What ground there was for this belief the following recital of facts will show.

In November 1914, Pingley (a Maratha) and Satyendra Sen (a Bengali) arrived in Calcutta from America by S S. Salamis. Pingley went up country to help to organise a rising there. Satyendra remained in Calcutta at No. 159, Bow Bazar.

Towards the close of 1914 it was reported to the police that the partners in a *swadeshi* cloth-shop named the Sramajibi Samavaya, viz., Ram Chandra Mazumdar and Amarendra Chatarji, were scheming with Jatindra Mukharji, Atul Ghosh and Narendra Bhattacharji to keep arms on a large scale.

Early in 1915 certain of the Bengal revolutionaries met and decided to organize and put the whole scheme of raising a rebellion in India with the help of Germans upon a proper footing, establishing co-operation between revolutionaries in Siam and other places with Bengal and getting into touch with the Germans, and that funds should be raised by dacoities.

Thereupon the Garden Reach and Beliaghata dacoities were committed on the 12th January and 22nd February which brought in Rs. 40,000. Bholanath Chatarji had already been sent to Bangkok to get in touch with conspirators there. Jitendra Nath Lahiri, who arrived in Bombay from Europe early in March, brought to the Bengal revolutionaries offers of German help and invited them to send an agent to Batavia to co-operate. A meeting was thereupon held, as a result of which Naren Bhattacharji was sent to Batavia to discuss plans with the Germans there. He started in April and adopted the pseudonym of C. Martin. In the same month another Bengali, Abani Mukharji, was sent by the conspirators to Japan, while the leader, Jatin Mukharji, went into hiding at Balasore owing to the police investigations in connection with the Garden Reach and Beliaghata dacoities. In the same month the S.S. *Maverick*, of which more will be told, started on a voyage from San Pedro in California.

On his arrival at Batavia "Martin" was introduced by the German Consul to Theodor Helfferich who stated that a cargo of arms and ammunition was on its way to Karachi to assist the Indians in a revolution. "Martin" then urged that the ship should be diverted to Bengal. This was eventually agreed to after reference to the German Consul-General in Shanghai. "Martin" then returned to make arrangements to receive the cargo of the *Maverick*, as the ship was called, at Rai Mangal in

the Sundarbans. The cargo was said to consist of 30,000 rifles with 400 rounds of ammunition each and 2 lakhs of rupees. Meanwhile "Martin" had telegraphed to Harry & Sons in Calcutta, a bogus firm kept by a well-known revolutionary, that "business was helpful." In June Harry & Sons wired to "Martin" for money, and then began a series of remittances from Helfferich in Batavia to Harry & Sons in Calcutta between June and August, which aggregated Rs. 43,000, of which the revolutionaries received Rs. 33,000 before the authorities discovered what was going on.

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There was no doubt that some men under instruction from Atul Ghosh, actually went down by boat to the neighbourhood of Rai Mangal to help in the unloading of the *Maverick*. They seemed to have stayed there about ten days, but by the end of June the *Maverick* had not arrived, nor had any message been received from Batavia to explain the delay.

While the conspirators were waiting for the *Maverick* a Bengali arrived from Bangkok on the 3rd July with a message from Atmaram, a Punjabi

conspirator there, that the German Consul in Siam was sending by boat a consignment of 5,000 rifles and ammunition and 1 lakh of rupees to Rai Mangal. The conspirators thinking this was in substitution of the Maverick's cargo induced the Bengali messenger to return to Bangkok via Batavia and tell Helfferich not to change the original plan and that other consignments of arms might be landed at Hatia (Sandwip) and Balasore in the Bay of Bengal or Gokarni on the west coast of India, south of Karwar. In July Government learnt of the projected landing of arms at Rai Mangal and took precautions.

On the 7th August the police, on information received, searched the premises of Harry & Sons and effected some arrests.

On the 13th August one of the conspirators sent from Bombay a warning telegram to Helfferich in Java and on the 15th of August Narendra Bhattacharji ("Martin") and another started for Batavia to discuss matters with Helfferich.

On the 4th of September the Universal Emporium at Balasore, a branch of Harry & Sons, was searched, as also a revolutionary retreat at Kaptipada 20 miles distant where a map of the Sundarbans was found together with a cutting from a Penang paper about the Maverick. Eventually a gang of five Bengalis was "rounded up", and in the fight which ensued Jatin Mukharji, the leader, and Chittapriya Ray Chaudhuri, the murderer of Inspector Suresh Chandra Mukharji, were killed,

During this year nothing more was heard from

"Martin" by the conspirators and eventually two of them went to Goa to try and telegraph to Batavia. On the 27th December 1915 the following telegram was sent to "Martin" at Batavia from Goa :—"How doing—no news ; very anxious. B. Chatterton." This led to enquiries in Goa and two Bengalis were found one of whom proved to be Bholanath Chatarji. He committed suicide in the Poona Jail on the 27th January 1916.

We will now shortly narrate the story of the *Maverick* and another vessel, the *Henry S.* both of which started from America for Eastern waters. in connection with the German plot, and describe certain other schemes entertained by the Germans.

The *S.S. Maverick* was an old oil tank steamer of the Standard Oil Company, which had been purchased by a German firm, F. Jebesen & Co., of San Francisco. She sailed about the 22nd of April 1915 from San Pedro in California without cargo. She had a crew of 25 officers and men and five so called Persians, who signed on as waiters. They were all Indians and had been shipped by Von Brincken of the German Consulate at San Francisco and Ram Chandra, the successor of Hardayal on the *Ghadr*. One of them, Hari Singh, a Punjabi, had quantities of *Ghadr* literature in trunks. The *Maverick* went first to San Jose del Cabo in Lower California and obtained clearance for Anjer in Java. They then sailed for the Island of Socorro, 600 miles west of Mexico, to meet a schooner called the *Annie Larsen* which had a cargo of arms and

purchased by a German in New York named Tausel and shipped at San Diego on the Annie Larsen. The Master of the Maverick had been instructed to stow the rifles in one of the empty oil tanks and flood them with oil and stow the ammunition in another tank, and in case of urgent necessity to sail with the Annie Larsen never effected a meeting. The Maverick sailed for Java via Honolulu. In Java it was searched by the Dutch authorities and found to be empty. The Annie Larsen eventually about the end of June 1915 arrived at Hoquiam in Washington territory where her cargo was seized by the United States authorities. It was claimed by Count Bernsdorf, the German Ambassador at Washington, as belonging to Germany, but the claim was disallowed by the American Government.

Helfferrich took care of the crew of the Maverick in Batavia and eventually sent them back in her to America, "Martin" being substituted for Hari Singh. Thus "Martin" escaped to America. After his arrival there he was arrested by the American Government.

Another vessel which started in pursuance of a German Indian plot was the Henry S., a schooner with auxiliary screw. She cleared from Manila for Shanghai with a cargo of arms and ammunition which were discovered by the Customs authorities who made the master unload them before sailing. Her destination was then changed to Pontianak and eventually her motor broke down and she put into

a port in the Celebes She had on board two German Americans, Wehde and Boehm The general intention seems to have been that she should go to Bangkok and land some of her arms which were to be concealed in a tunnel at Pakoh on the Siam Burma frontier while Boehm trained Indians on the frontier for the invasion of Burma. Boehm was arrested in Singapore on his way from Batavia, which he had reached from the Celebes He had joined the Henery S at Manila under instructions received from Heramba Lal Gupta in Chicago, and was instructed by the German Consul at Manila to see that 500 revolvers were landed at Bangkok and the rest of the consignment of 5,000 sent on to Chittagong The arms were said to be revolvers with rifle stocks, probably therefore they were Mauser pistols

There is reason to believe that, when the scheme connected with Maverick failed, the German Consul General at Shanghai arranged to send two other ships with arms to the Bay of Bengal, one to Rai Mangal and the other to Balasore The first was to carry 20,000 rifles, 8,000,000 cartridges, 2,000 pistols and hand grenades and explosives and two lakhs of rupees, the other was to carry 10,000 rifles, a million cartridges and grenades and explosives "Martin", however, pointed out to the German Consul at Batavia that Rai Mangal was no longer a safe landing-place and suggested Hatia was better The proposed change of place was discussed with Helfferich and eventually the following plan was evolved —

Francisco trial which began in November 1917 resulted in further convictions in connection with these plots, but the details have not yet reached India.

In October, 1915, the Shanghai Municipal Police arrested two Chinamen in possession of 129 automatic pistols and 20,830 rounds of ammunition which they had been instructed by a German named Nielsen to take to Calcutta concealed in the centre of bundles of planks. The address to which they were to be delivered was Amarendra Chatarji, Srīmajibi Samavaya, Calcutta. Amarendra was one of the conspirators who absconded to Chandernagore.

The address of Nielsen, namely, 32, Yangtsepo Road, which was proved in the trial of these Chinamen, appears in a note-book found on the person of Abani, the emissary to Japan mentioned in paragraph 5, when he was arrested at Singapore on his homeward voyage. There is reason to believe that this or a similar plot was hatched in consultation with Rash Behari Basu, who was then living in Nielsen's house, for pistols which Rash Behari wished to send to India were obtained by a Chinaman from the Mai Tah dispensary, 108, Chao Tung Road, which was one of Nielsen's address recorded in the note-book. Another revolutionary who lived in the same house was Abinash Ray. He had been concerned in Shanghai in German schemes for sending arms to India and asked Abani to give a message to Mati Lal Ray at Chandernagore saying everything was all right but they must devise some means by which

could be got safely into India. Aban's note-book contained the addresses of Matilal Ray and several other known revolutionaries of Chandernagore, Calcutta, Dacca and Comilla. Among other addresses was that of Amar Singh, engineer, Pakoh, Siam the place in which it had been arranged that some of the arms on the Henry S should be concealed. Amar Singh was sentenced to death at Mandalay and hanged.

(*Sedition Committee's Report*, §§111, 112, 113)